

## THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

## FROM WASHINGTON.

Vallandigham—The Peace Movement.  
From Our Own Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1861.

Mr. C. L. Vallandigham—I hope I have given him the full measure of his heavy draft on the Ohio contingent of the Peace Society. Some reasonable margin of allowance should be made for a man of Northern birth, who is borne down by the incubus of such a name as his. It does not excite my special wonder that, like Caliban, he is "misanthropic and hates mankind." The case of the children whose teeth are set on edge from the sour grape diet of the fathers is not more to be commiserated than such a sponsorship imposed upon the tender years of infancy, which even bears down with consensual burden the robust years of Congressional manhood. Mr. V., spare me the linked sweetness long drawn out of the attendant parables, has an eminent genius for servility and small meanness. What he cannot be fawned in abasement by him may well be considered beyond human enterprise. But his letter affords melancholy evidence of the discrepancy between purpose and execution, strength of inclination and weakness of performance. What he quotes from the late Senator Douglas is none of his best, and that which he contributes from his own brain is the poorest of the poor.

When an individual of such poverty of ideas and paucity of language is put forward to seduce the people of the Free States into abasement, subservience must be on its last legs, and tottering feebly to its doom. There can be but little left of a late superb villainy in Northern allies, when the leader of a low charge piles out in such a fainting strain.

Still the uses of the Ohio member vindicate our belief that in the wisdom of the Artificer nothing is created in vain. If Southern ports were open, and the cotton trade was brisk, his value in the New-Orleans market would be quite the average of an ordinary plantation field hand—a higher grade of intelligence is desirable for a dining-room or body-servant. The demand now is light, but we are hoping for an improved condition of the live-stock traffic. Mr. V. must remain on hand for a while, like other merchandise. If his complexion is any bar to a speedy sale, a penny's worth of burned cork, or a sifting of lamp-black will give him those sable tints of complexion which will disarm the criticism of vendor and vendee, and place him on the auction block, with all of the lumpy incidents of darkness and docility which most allure the pious purchaser of souls and bodies.

In the mean time he can bring forward with impunity, no doubt, his ignominious proposals for settlement. There have been periods in the history of the world when such an act would earn the ax or the cord, and have prompt payment, sometimes with, and sometimes without, the forms of tribunal. We have not quite come to that yet, but there is a tendency in that direction worthy of the reflection of this man and all others who propose to stand between severe justice and wicked treason. We think this same tool of Northern complexity has had in the last ninety days some evidence that there are some things to which an insulted Nation will not submit. He can hardly expect that coolness of temper will come in an inverse ratio with heat of sun.

So far as he is concerned, he is not worth half the space I have given him, nor is he worth any, upon a rigid scrutiny of value, only so far as he is to be made a representative man of a small and insignificant interest, who would sell liberty, and everything else which men hold dear, for the soiled garments of power or the filthy lure of gold. The hour has passed. There are those who have been committed to this scheme of degrading the free section to the feet of the slave, who repeat, in their new light, and are astonished at the blindness which sealed their eyes to the breakers that were foaming under the lee of the vessel. The brains and the intellectual capital of the country now see the value of Government, and the awful chaos and destruction of a successful rebellion. Those who are without either intellect or worth can bow down in their idolatry to the unclean gods of their worship, and grope darkly toward the temples whose unholy shrines have been hurried from their pedestals by devotes who have been converted to a higher and purer faith. The days of our mourning and sackcloth are passing away. In festal robes and joy, the chosen people step forth to the fruition of a tardy but sure-coming possession.

I record, full of satisfaction, one act of energy which gives promise of earnest work. The arrest of Marshal Kane of Baltimore atones for days of brooding dependency. I forget in the act the delay which has adjourned it for four weeks. The turpitude of his treachery has been of the blackest hue. It was not treason only, but plotting hypocrisy which had not the manhood of bold and open action. Nothing but the terrors of shell and mortar at Fort McHenry, and the knowledge that a general was there who would dispatch them on their errands with an inflexible determination, has kept us from riots and murder on every regiment which has traversed their streets on their way to Washington. The head and front of the organization is now in the keeping of the garrison. It is something to those of us who believe in this business, to have him there. It would be a good deal more if he was shot, as he ought to be, by a file of soldiers.

And now, shall we have any forward movement to Virginia? Or must we wait for recruited strength after this exercise of power? Men of the city and the country! we are superior to the enemy at every point of the line, in troops, equipment, commissariat, and all that makes successful war. We have supposed that a desperate fight was to be made at every advance. They have nowhere made a stand. At Bethel, they were gathering their legs for a run when Gen. Pierce set the example of a retreat. At Vienna they had fired their last round before retreat. Every day Lieut. Tompkins's bugle-charge sets Virginia valor to the speed of a steed-chase in flight.

With the possession of Richmond and Memphis, you end the war practically. You can take the other cities in the cool leisure of Autumn. What if we are compelled to hold hereafter, by the intimidation of garrisons, the disquieted population. We can do that while the prosperity of the people returns with the restored quiet of submission. Send out arms to the friends of order

in East Tennessee and mountain Kentucky. "We haven't got arms." Buy them, then. You have the money, and can have the weapons. These excuses were well enough four weeks ago, when we did not know any better. Now it is worse than foolish, with the starting facts. Appense the restiveness of your soldiers by taking off the curb to their impatience. Let the capitalist see that his money is not being squandered for naught, and give to the anxious civilian, in his doubt, the evidence that Government still lives.

## FROM NEWPORT NEWS.

A Forward Movement expected—Good Condition of the 9th Regiment.

Correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune.  
Newport News, near Fortress Monroe, Va., June 26, 1861.

Matters are still quiet here, but there are certain steady movements on foot, which to me indicate a splendid dash at the enemy. This morning, a big, fearful, black and powerful-looking weapon came by steamer Fanny from Fortress Monroe. It is a rifle cannon of the same caliber as that used at the Rip Rap, and of the same make. A steamer went up the York River a few days since, having a reconnoitering party on board, who fired a few shots at the Rebels near Yorktown, and learned some valuable lessons which will serve them in the visit which may, no doubt, be made to that region at any moment. That expedition by water, taken in conjunction with the landing of such heavy rifled cannon here, indicates, what has become a fixed understanding among many of our officers, that Yorktown will soon be attacked by land and water at the same time.

The condition of our troops is very much improved by the introduction of some good beef. The little attentions recently shown us by the Union Defense Committee, in the shape of many nice entrees for the sick, and the prevention of sickness, meet our most cordial gratitude. Col. Hoffman will be welcome here whenever he chooses to come, bringing such a kind disposition coupled with such kind favors.

It may interest the friends of our 9th Regiment (Col. Hawkins's Zouaves) to know that the religious interests of the regiment are improving. No more picturesque and solemn scene can be witnessed than one of our evening prayer-meetings. Last evening, after a very severe thunder storm, I went to Company F's quarters, and found a group of soldiers singing "Home-ward Bound." In consequence of the storm, I proposed having the meeting this evening. But, no! Captain Hammell would have it then. Accordingly I went to his tent, took my position near a candle, gave out a hymn, and the boys who stood around me in the mud and water, joined in, and we sang "Joyfully."

After singing, I made some appropriate remarks, offered prayer, and then closed with the familiar doxology and benediction. This short meeting did not suit the soldiers. They returned to their tents, formed themselves into groups, and continued the services among themselves. The spirit of the meeting with Company F spread to Company A, and, when I returned to my tent, I heard the soldiers in both companies singing the praise of God. A more joyful and solemn scene I never witnessed. This may serve to convince friends at home that their sons could be in a more dangerous situation than in the service of their country.

The health of the regiment is generally good, there being few cases of sickness.  
Yours, &c.,  
T. W. CONWAY, Chaplain.

## THE VOICE OF A DEMOCRAT.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: A man of 50 years, who has been a Democrat of the hardest kind all his life—who has felt that the South had been abused, and has tried to vindicate what he considered their rights, has sent you the accompanying stanzas, which are the spontaneous outburst of his present sentiments in regard to the present state of things. If they are worth publishing, you are welcome to them—if not, dispose of them as you see fit. I conscientiously tried to stand by the South until I was satisfied that my good will was worse than thrown away.

When they not only shamefully deserted their Northern friends, but plotted treason against the best government the sun ever shone upon—when they committed crimes with which those of the common felon are innocents, I felt, as the whole country ought to feel, that we had been most basely betrayed; and that while they were pretending to be friends they were striving to rob us of that which is sacred and dear to us as a nation. They deserve a destruction worse than a common felon's fate. The reckless wickedness that has brought our country to the verge of ruin should not be lightly thought of, nor lightly dealt with.

Our Government, the hope of freedom in the world, should now deal its blows so effectively as to establish itself on a basis firm beyond all future controversy. I like your doctrine of "No Compromise." The Government has been insulted and jeered beyond endurance. Let her blows now fall thick and heavy, until disunion shall be silenced forever, and Secession herself shall evaporate into empty air.

We have a Government. We to him who shall dare to dispute it. You are right, Mr. Tribune—the dignity of our Government must be maintained; and "No compromise with traitors."

## FREEMEN TO ARMS!

Oh, on, ye brave; your country calls!  
"Hail Freedom light the flame;  
On to the fight; wherever fall,  
Shall win a glorious name."

Division lifts her traitorous head  
Our country to enthrall;  
The cause for which our fathers bled  
Must triumph now, or fall.

Our brother's suicidal hand  
Aimed to strike the blow,  
That must involve these happy lands  
In misery and woe.

Our fathers toiled and fought and bled  
Our liberty to gain;  
And we their sons, and in their stead,  
The glorious boon maintain.

"Thine Nature's cause, the cause of man,  
Of liberty and law,  
That bids us for the Union stand,  
And Freedom's weapons draw."

In sacred ranks the foemen come,  
With havoc in their train,  
And we must meet a coward's doom,  
Or beat them back again.

The friends of freedom quake with fear,  
And tremble for the cause  
Of Liberty, whose home is here,  
With just and equal laws.

The cause of millions yet unborn,  
Entrusted how to you,  
Shall bring applause, or deepest scorn,  
As you are false, or true.

Up, freemen! mingle in the fight!  
Strike home the avenging blow—  
Put all the rebel hosts to flight,  
And lay the traitors low!

A NEW STRIPP—A valuable invention has lately been perfected by a cavalry officer in the army. We allude to the "Eagle stirrup," manufactured by Wm. H. Hazard of this city, who has also been appointed its agent. The stirrup heretofore in use was a mere rest for the foot, whereas these not only afford additional support, but bring the feet parallel to the horse's sides, and nearer, according to the pressure thrown upon them, and the point of suspension at which they are adjusted; while the toes being inclined inward, the spurs are kept free from the horse. As a practical substitute, too, for a safety stirrup, they will doubtless prove invaluable, as, upon the rider being thrown, the stirrup turns up, and allows the instant extrication of the feet. These stirrups are adapted for military, civil, and ladies' use, and are variously constructed according to the different positions now in vogue for riding throughout civilized nations.

## FROM FORTRESS MONROE.

## BLUNDERS AND THEIR CAUSE.

## MORE VANDALISM.

## COL. ALLEN UNDER ARREST.

## Will the Blockading Fleet Move Out?

## A FORWARD MOVEMENT.

## HOW FARE THE SWEETMEATS AND LIQUORS?

## Board to Examine the Qualifications of Officers.

From Our Special Correspondent.

FORTRESS MONROE,  
OLD POINT COMFORT, June 28, 1861.

A corps of men have arrived here for the purpose, by means of the telegraph, of shortening the distance between Fortress Monroe and Washington. Considering that the further the movements are from Washington the more vigorous the measures and the more there is accomplished, this is something to be regretted. Anything that is to aid the ruinous do-nothing policy certainly cannot be desired except by those who sell themselves to the Rebels near Yorktown, and learned some valuable lessons which will serve them in the visit which may, no doubt, be made to that region at any moment. That expedition by water, taken in conjunction with the landing of such heavy rifled cannon here, indicates, what has become a fixed understanding among many of our officers, that Yorktown will soon be attacked by land and water at the same time.

The condition of our troops is very much improved by the introduction of some good beef. The little attentions recently shown us by the Union Defense Committee, in the shape of many nice entrees for the sick, and the prevention of sickness, meet our most cordial gratitude. Col. Hoffman will be welcome here whenever he chooses to come, bringing such a kind disposition coupled with such kind favors.

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While speaking of the depredations of the soldiers, I want to have said that the Louisiana Zouaves, composed of the elite of New-Orleans, who have recently reached Yorktown, are so far ahead of anybody yet heard of, that the people of the district they have overrun are quite inclined to regard our boys as friends and protectors.

The commissioned officers of the regiment have expressed a unanimous preference for Lieut. Col. Elder as the precursor of Col. McChesney, resigned. I understand that this regiment will take the place of Col. Wardrop's Massachusetts 3d, inside of the fortress.

Three steamers with a regiment of Massachusetts troops touched here this morning, and proceeded up the Potomac to Washington. It is clear that for the present we are to have no addition to the force here. The report that the steamers entered the roads to take Gen. Pierce away, did not prove to be true.

Brevet-Major Williams having been promoted to a full Major in the 5th Artillery Regiment, repaired to Harpersburg in obedience to orders last evening. He will be followed by Lieut. Ayres of the 3d, who has been made a captain in the 5th. The post suffers a loss in the departure of these officers. The new 5th will be a splendid regiment. It will have 1,600 men, 1,200 horses and 70 pieces. Recruiting will be immediately commenced in Pennsylvania, and it is expected that the regiment will be in the field from three to four months from the present time. Col. Brown of Fort Pickens will command it.

## FROM MISSOURI.

Destruction of a Rebel Foundry—The Southern Expedition—10,000 Men in the Field—Col. Montgomery of Kansas—Gen. Lyon and the Army Promotions—Lack of Backbone—Disunion vs. Slavery—No Compromise with Traitors.

From Our Special Correspondent.

St. Louis, Mo., Friday, June 28, 1861.

A foundry at Lexington, on the river, 120 miles above Booneville, has been for the last three months turning out one cannon per week for the rebels. It is understood that Lieut. Col. Robert White, of the 5th Regiment is about leaving Booneville for Lexington, with five or six hundred men, to destroy the foundry. The expedition will go up in steamboats.

Gen. Lyon's command, moving South from Booneville, after leaving men enough at several points on the river to garrison them, will be about 3,000 strong. Gen. Sweeney's force, marching south-west toward Springfield, where a conjunction of the two bodies will be formed, containing an equal number. Enough "Home Guards" of the loyal Germans and other Union men of Missouri, are already organized along the route and at Springfield, to swell the Federal Army to 10,000—a force which is not likely to meet with serious resistance. The Rebels may rally sufficiently for a slight skirmish or two; but I think there will be no more serious fighting in Missouri.

In the western part of the State, the announcement that Captain James Montgomery is Colonel of one of the regiments, will contribute materially to peace. The appointment was eminently made. Captain Montgomery is very far from the popular idea of a Border Chieftain. He never boasts, never swears, never uses spirits or tobacco, is a man of perfect integrity—a studious, quiet gentleman. He understands both the theory and practice of guerrilla warfare better than any other man in the country.

I have looked upon him in some trying positions; and I never saw any other man march right into the teeth of danger, with such entire serenity, such unflinching coolness, and such apparent unconsciousness of all personal peril. He has the rare faculty of inspiring his men with the same characteristics; hence they have been, for the last four years, a very raw-boned and bloody-boned to the Border Ruffians of western Missouri. Severely drilled, never losing their coolness, not seeming to set a pin's value upon their lives, they are very undesirable enemies. Wherever Montgomery's Regiment meets a foe that shows fight, the contest will be very short, very hot and entirely decisive.

The failure to remove Gen. Lyon in our promotional recently made in the Army, excites a good deal of dissatisfaction, and some indignation. His Brigadier-Generalship is only in the Missouri to unwarfare—to continue during the war; in the regular army his rank is still merely that of Captain. Gen. Lyon is a thorough soldier. Through his watchfulness and sagacity, in the Booneville expedition, he avoided falling into a trap set for him by the Rebels, which would have proved terribly destructive to his command—a hidden battery, from which it was the purpose of the secession forces, by a few well-directed shots, to burst the boilers of the boats comprising the army fleet, and thus insure its utter destruction. His prompt action at and since the Camp Jackson affair, saved the State of Missouri hundreds of lives, and millions of money.

But for the course he has taken, with the aid and advice of Col. Blair, anarchy and insurrection would now reign riot in the State. Why is he neglected? Is it because of his prompt movements, which, though made without waiting for orders from Washington, have resulted so happily? Gen. Lyon is a quiet, efficient officer, who attends strictly to his business, exhibits no demagoguery or hunger for newspaper fame, and seems to set with an eye single to the honor of the Government which he has served so long and so faithfully. Are such officers so plenty just in the war, that the Government is justified in leaving them unwarmed?

The preponderance of the slaveholding interest of Missouri is decidedly for the Union. The large slaveholders seem to realize a great truth which Col. Frank Blair recently announced to one of them. I was sitting in his quarters at the Arsenal, when a gentleman from Lexington came in, and was introduced to him. "I am a Union man," remarked the visitor, "but I'm Pro-Slavery; I own niggers." "Well, Sir," replied Col. Blair, with a faint suggestion of a smile upon his grim face, "You have a right to be. If a man like negroes, we do not object to that; but if you gentlemen who own negroes attempt to take the State of Missouri out of the Union, in about six months you will have the most 'nigger law' set of individuals that you ever heard of!"

This contest thoroughly illustrates the iron despotism of the slave power, and the degradation it engenders among those who succumb to it. It does seem impossible for men who don't own negroes to learn that they are as good as men who do, and for loyal slaveholders to learn that some outrages ought to be resisted by force of arms, even when committed in the "sacred" name of Slavery. Look at Missouri. More than two-thirds of her legal voters are unconditional Union men; and yet, almost everywhere outside of St. Louis (where Col. Blair induced them to organize, arm and drill, months ago), they permit themselves to be bullied and dragged by the minority, and even ask the presence of Federal bayonets from Iowa, Illinois and Kansas, for their own protection.

Meantime, Unionists of the Slave States, on general principles you are brave men, but in this secession business, as Col. Elder said with equal truth of our Northern Republicans, you lack luck! Your position is apologetic, halting, negative, and gives to your enemies the inestimable advantage acquired by every moving body—momentum. Will you never learn from Frank Blair, Cassius Clay, and Andy Johnson, that you must fight the devil with fire—that to put the traitors on the defensive, by a bold, defiant, aggressive position, is your only safety?

The appointment of Henry T. Blow, esq., of this city, as Minister to Venezuela, gives universal satisfaction. Mr. Blow, a Southern man by birth, has long been a faithful and hard working Republican; he is an accomplished and genial gentleman, who will fill the post with grace and fidelity. The State Convention has not yet been called to re-assemble, and there is some doubt whether it will be before November, the time to which it is adjourned.

The people of the West are very slow to believe the charge of a design to favor any sort of compromise with the Southern Rebels on the part of President Lincoln, whom they regard with strong local pride, or the

Cabinet of his choice. But I have had for the last few weeks excellent opportunity to feel the pulse upon the war question. Like Gov. Sprague's Regiment, according to the historic answer of that gentleman to the Maryland authorities, they have come "to fight." They mean to pursue this contest with treason to the bitter end. Any man, or any set of men, who propose any kind of compromise with the traitors except their unconditional submission, will be instantly swept from power by a universal uprising of the people of the North-West.

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE CRISIS.

Progress of the War—Probable Effects upon the Commercial Interests of the North—Suggestions as to the Policy called for in the Present Emergency.

Public attention throughout the North is now directed to the military demonstration in Virginia. I have no doubt that there is an anxiety far greater than is expressed. It could not well be otherwise. The voluntary contributions in money for war purposes, and the tender of volunteers for service, surpass all precedent in the history of the world. The great levy of forces in France in 1793, and subsequently, was by conscription, under a legislative decree. The forces raised in the English civil war, though for the most part voluntary, yet were far inferior in number to what have been organized in this country; and neither in England or France, at the periods above referred to, was there anything like a propitious aid in money by individuals or corporations. We are to infer from this? Is it not that under the pressure of the disorder which would ensue from any long continuance of war, our people were willing to bear temporary sacrifice to an almost fabulous amount for the sake of bringing to an early conclusion the strife between our Government and the lawless Rebels? Did it not necessarily result from this that a corresponding energy on the part of the Government was due to the generous spirit which prompted this voluntary aid? Had the Federal Government been left to its ordinary resources, it is questionable if its credit would in the fearful crisis that had occurred have been sufficient for the raising of what was necessary for immediate outlay; and certainly the process of drafting for military service would have been found utterly inadequate to the necessity that existed for the immediate defense of the Capital.

Our country is not like any other. Government has heretofore been a power distinct from popular support, so far at least that it provided for its own exigencies without regard to the popular feeling. Extraordinary taxes—forced loans—coercive levy of military forces, have been the means by which wars have been carried on by the monarchs of Europe.

If we revert now to the elastic spirit of our people in its grand rising against the traitorous attempt to destroy our Government, it would be libelous to suppose that it was a merely spasmodic impulse, a popular enthusiasm, that would die away as speedily as it had been called forth. I have too high an estimate of the intrinsic virtue of the Northern mind to admit that there was anything of this nebulous character, exhibiting only dissolving views, but, on the contrary, I have a firm faith in the soundness and persistency of patriotic ardor in the support of our nationality.

Every noble emotion is, however, the product of rational motive. It would be idle to suppose that a whole people can be wrought up to such a self-sacrificing spirit by the exorcism of mere political art. I have often heard it said that the bombardment of Sumter was the sole cause of popular outbreak at the North. I believe no such thing. On the contrary, it would be an aspersion of our national character to doubt that the proclamation of the President would at any time have called out the generous support of all true-hearted citizens to the support of the country.

We are now called upon to look deliberately upon the probable consequences of the war, and there are two questions to be resolved: First, How long is the war to continue? and, second, What will be the ultimate result?

As to the first, I hear it often said that we are at the commencement of a protracted conflict which may last for years. The ready answer to this, that the prudent and calculating mind of the North will not submit to the wasting of our resources in the pursuit of what is beyond our strength to accomplish. If we have not the power to put down this rebellion by a rapid and decisive movement—if, on the contrary, the contest is to be a succession of campaigns, exhausting to both of the belligerent parties, and perpetually exasperating the mutual animosity of both—then it will, I predict, ere long, be seriously agitated whether it ought to be abandoned. But a preliminary question is to be settled—whether we have fairly and fully used the power which we actually possess. Have we accomplished all that might reasonably have been expected from the forces that have been called into service? What has been done may be briefly stated. We are in the occupation of Alexandria, but we have not the control of a single railroad beyond that point into any part of Virginia, nor have the Baltimore and Ohio Road been freed from obstruction by the enemy.

We have indeed had daily reports of the rapid advance of two columns, making an aggregate of 30,000 men—one from the Ohio, the other from Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania; but neither of them had reached the Potomac until the evacuation of Harper's Ferry by the Rebels. The encouragement which we felt at the news of the evacuation was however speedily dispelled by the reappearance of the enemy in the neighborhood of Piedmont, so as still to prevent the use of the Baltimore and Ohio Road for a through passage, and by the occupation of Leesburgh, the terminus of the Northern road from Alexandria.

We may naturally inquire, where are all the forces that several weeks since were on their way to Harper's Ferry? I do not pretend to such knowledge of military strategy that I would undertake to say what should have been done. The result, however, we know—that they have not yet obtained command of the great road from the West to the Atlantic, and have made no advance beyond the Potomac into the interior of the State. Our forces are in fact yet upon the boundary line of Virginia. The inquiry then naturally arises, when, at this rate of progress, shall we obtain military occupation of Virginia? As to the rest of the Rebel States all speculation would seem to be useless.

In this condition of things a thoughtful mind cannot avoid looking anxiously forward to the solution of the more important question, which will soon be the absorbing topic throughout our land, viz., to what extent can the war be prosecuted without involving some great change in the character and employment of our people, and which may result in unforeseen modifications of our present form of government?

I have heard the opinion expressed that we shall gradually become accustomed to a military regime, and that capital and labor will be turned into new channels connected with munitions of war—the furnishing of provisions, clothing, and arms to our soldiers. Domestic manufactures and agricultural production, it is assumed, will be vastly increased. The argument is, however, defective in several particulars. All the labor that will be employed in the manufacturing of arms and the supply of clothing for the army will be insignificant in amount compared with what has heretofore been called for in the various modes of mechanical industry which had been developed in the peaceful and prosperous condition of our country. Productive labor belongs not to a time of civil disorder. There must be security in the enjoyment of property and social comforts. Agriculture must of course be limited to what can be disposed of. Our average production has been always beyond the demand, except when there has been a temporary and unusual market in Europe.

But all speculations of this kind become of slight account when we look at the peculiar character of enterprise in this country. Our people have an activity and energy in business pursuits that is without parallel in the history of commercial States. The effect has been a rapid growth in wealth and population. To suppress or seriously impair this elastic spirit would be disastrous beyond what we can fully estimate without actual experience. It will be found, in operation, like the drying up of all the little streams and moist places by a general drought. The large river may still flow, but it cannot permeate the parched surface of the meadow or the grain-field.

A single circumstance there is which may be deemed beneficial in the present pressure. The facility of acquiring something more than a mere livelihood has generated a general drain to the real property of the country. There is a large class that by the aid of a reduced expenditure may for a considerable time be in no danger of distress, but a much larger class will inevitably fall into extreme penury, and even now are straitened. The lesson will, however, be a useful one to all, though it may be attended with present suffering.

Without pursuing the argument further, it is, I think, sufficiently clear that upon every sound principle of national policy our Government is called upon to concentrate all its energy into an effort for the speedy termination of the present anomalous and portentous state of things. Defeat in consequence of the want of due preparation would indeed be a calamity. But it is not a time to allow a tardy attention to getting in readiness, nor timidity in using our force when it is adequate to the emergency. I do not think that the leisurely course of strategy which might have been appropriate in the Mexican war is now advisable. The chief of some great military combination cannot be waited. Direct, practical, and efficient measures are demanded to meet the immediate danger.

The importance of the earliest demonstration that can be made with safety can hardly be over-estimated. How long will the disheartened merchant or the impoverished mechanic patiently bear up without some decisive blow being struck that shall give the promise of relief within some definite time. Can we calculate the extent of disaffection that may appear ere long in the midst of our people, now apparently so united in the support of the Government? That there are many among us who have in fact secretly had no cordial sympathy with the patriotic feeling of the North may soon become painfully evident.

I cannot but feel some apprehension that under the double exposure from distresses pressing hard upon a large class of our people, and a sinister feeling in the minds of others, latent as yet, but not wholly suppressed, our national honor may be defiled by a stain.

In my opinion, even the risk of defeat in the first instance would be far preferable to the dying out of popular enthusiasm, by the wearing process of hope deferred. The first could be retrieved by renewed effort—the last would be a